NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

PRIVATE LETTER TO MAJOR JACK DOWNING.

Post Office, Downingville, State of Maine, June 30, 1848.

DEAR NEPHEW: Bein our army is about breaking up in Mexico and coming home, I thought the best chance to get a letter to you would be to get your old friends, Mr. Gales and Seaton, to send it on that way, and may be it might come across you somewhere on the road, if so be you are still in the land of the living. Your aunt Keziah is in a great worriment about you, and is very much frightened for fear somethin has happened, because we haven't heard nothin from you since your last let-ter. I try to pacity her, and tell her the fighting was all over, and nothin to do but to finish up the court martial the last time you writ, and that there isn't agoing to be no more annexin' till Mr. Cass comes in President, and you'll soon be along. But

comes in President, and you'll soon be along. But all wont pacify her; she's as uneasy as a fish out of water, and says she lays awake half the night thinking of them garillas, for fear they've got hold of you. So I hope you'll write home as soon as possible, and let us know whether you are dead or alive, and set your aunt Keziah's heart to rest.

For my part, I hope you will hurry along back as fast as you can. Our politics is very much mixed up and in a bad way about the Presidency. It would puzzle a Philadelphy lawyer to tell how it's comin out. It was a very unlucky hit when President Polk seat old Zack Taylor down to Mexico. He wasn't the right man. But, then, I 'spose Mr. Polk had no idea of what sort of a chap he had got hold of. It can't be helped now, but it's like to be the ruin of our party. The Democratic party haint seen a well day since Taylor first begun his Pally Alto battles; and now we are all begun his Pally Alto battles; and now we are all shiverin as bad as if we had the fever and agay. I dont know, after all, but this annexin' Mexico will turn out to be an unlucky blow to the party; for what will it profit the Democratic party if they gain the whole world and lose the Presidency? Ye which contains about six thousand are emigrants from the United States, begun his Pally Alto battles; and the remaining two thousand are French Canadian emigrants, persons formerly servants of the Hudson Bay Company, and those in whose veins the blood of the white and red receasis mingled. Upon the Columbia and the Willamette rivers there are six settlements, which have the name of cities, the most considerable of which, however, is Oregon City, which contains about five hundred inhabitants. Portions of see, the Whigs have put up Taylor for President; and it has completely knocked us all into a cocked hat. There isn't one half of us that knews where we stan or which way we are goin; and there isn't a party fence in the country that is high enough to keep our folks from jumping over. They are getting kind of crazy, and seem to feel as if old Hickory had got back again, and they was all running to vote for him. The Whigs laugh and poke fun at us, and say they have got as good a right to have a Hickory as we Democrats have. We put have a Hickory as we Democrats have. We put up Gineral Cass first, and thought we should carry it all hollow; for he's a strong man and took a good deal of pains to make the party like him all over the country. And if the Whigs had done as they ought to, and put up Clay, or any one that they had a right to put up, we should a carried the day without any trouble. But the conduct of the Whigs has been shameful in this business. Instead of taking a man that fairly belonged to 'em, they have grabbed hold of a man that got all his popularity out of our war, and was under the pay of our Administration, and has been made and built up by our party, and the Whige had no more business with him than they had with the man in the moss. With him than they had with the man in the moon. But, for all that, the Whigs had the impudence to nominate him. Well, that riled our water all up, so we couldn't see bottom nowhere. But we soon found there was a shiftin and whirlin of currents, and the wind and the tide was settin us on to the rocks, in spite of us. We soon see that old Rough and Ready, as they call him, was agoing to be too much for Cass. But, as we was all making the process of the Rocky Mountains and between all that territory west of the Rocky Mountains and between moon. But, for all that, the Whigs had the impuup our mind that it was gone goose with us, Mr. John Van Buren, of York State—he's a smart feller, John Van Buren, of York State—he's a smart feller, and unquestionable, and supported by irrefragable arguments.

a son of President Van Buren, and a chip of the old

Of these twelve degrees of latitude he has given up five to seblock—he sings out, "Don't give up the ship yet; cure the peaceable possession of the remaining seven. Takif one hoss aint enough to draw the load, hitch on ing his own solemn declarations to be true, he has paid nearly Well, the idea seemed to take ; and they stirred round and got up another Convention at up, and they all pitched upon President Van Buren.

Mr. Van Buren patted them on the shoulder, and told 'em to have good courage and go ahead, for they was on the right track, but they must hitch on somebody also have for her to have good to be t somebody else besides him, for he had made up his mind four years ago not to take hold again. But be free, or whether it shall be subject to the institution of dohim there wasn't another man in the country that ings of the constitution are for the first time presented. We could draw like him alongside of Cass, and if he hear it contended, for the first time in the history of this Govsay no. And they worked upon his feelins so much that at last he didn't say no. So now we've got two candidates, Cass and Van Buren, and good strong ones too, both of 'em; and if we cant whip Taylor, I think it's a pity. I know as well as want to be mear it contended, for the hist the in the history of this covernment, that Congress has not the power to institute Territorial Governments. I contend that Congress has not the power to institute Territorial Governments. I contend that it has that power from the nature of the first time in the history of this covernment, that Congress has not the power to institute Territorial Governments. I contend that Congress has not the power to institute Territorial Governments. I contend that it has that power from the nature of the Government, that Congress has not the power to institute Territorial Governments. I contend that it has that power from the nature of the Government, that Congress has not the power. I contend that it has that power from the nature of the Government and of all Governments; and I contend that it is expressly given in clearly-defined language in the constitution itself: in language so explicit, so definite, that no man with reasonable in the interior in the nature of the Government and of all Governments; and I contend that it has that power from the nature of the Government and of all Governments; and I contend that it has that power from the nature of the Government and of all Governments and of all Governments. to that we shall give him a pesky hard tug. Some

the sake of opposing his election. And Ldont think that patriotism to the party requires it; and I'm

sure prudence dont.

When you get to Washington, call and see Mr.

ERRATA in the Speech of Mr. Rockwell, published in the Intelligencer of July 1. Near the bottom of the first column, for \$1,295,450, read \$1,295,450.

In the third column, below the middle of the column, for \$130,000, read \$30,000

In the Tabular Statement Item 5, last column, for \$1,316,450, read \$1,296,450.

Item 5, column next to the last, for \$247,000, read \$247,700.

Item 16, first column, for \$20,077,070, read \$20,087,072.

Item 16, the two last columns, are similar to item 17, \$72

nd \$386,878.

Last line in first column of the footing, for \$3,976,041.97, read \$3,975,813.97.

Last line in last column of footing, for \$15,326,082.00, read \$15,692,960.00.

An unfortunate accident happened near the town of Woodville (Miss.) on the 10th ultimo. A party of gentlemen were about starting out on a hunt, when their dogs commenced fighting. A young lawyer, by the name of Braz. M. Caex, while endeavoring to separate the dogs, using the breech of his gun for that purpose, was shot through the body by the accidental discharge of the piece, and expired almost instantly.

SPEECH OF MR. ROCKWELL, OF MASSACHUSETTS,

On the Government of the Territories, &c. House of Representatives, June 27, 1848. The House being in Committee of the Whole, and h

der consideration the Civil and Diplomatic bill-Mr. ROCKWELL, of Massachusetts, proposed to a Mr. ROCK WELL, of Massachusetts, proposed to address the committee upon the subject of the power of Congress over the territorial possessions of the country, and to speak particularly of this power in refurence to the Territory of Oregon. The Committee on Territories, (said Mr. R.) of which I am a member, has reported a bill for the organization of a Territorial Government for that Territory, and that bill is now before this committee. At what time it will be reached, or how n discussion will be allowed upon it, cannot be foretold; perfectly apparent, however, that there will be but very litt opportunity for its discussion. I deemit my duty, therefore, a member of that committee, to improve this opportunity pricipally in speaking upon matters connected with this subject. Sir, we are again at peace with all the world. We fin ourselves upon the consummation of this peace in the possession of vast territories, the acquisition of which has been the result of the contest in which we have been engaged and the

ber scarcely more than thirty thousand souls, and seem to be perishing away: a fate which will no doubt be accelerated by

the presence of the white race.

The people of Oregon have repeatedly, urgently, and con-The people of Gregon have repeatedly, urgently, and continually petitioned for the organization of a Territorial Government. In this they seem to be unanimous. The eyes of the people of Oregon turn not more gratefully and loyally to the rising sun, rely not more confidently upon his light and heat, than upon the protection and laws of this Government. Their relations with the Indian tribes; the titles to the lands; the wants of commerce; the necessity of a stable government to exposurance emigration. ourage emigration; the necessity of perman tion here, urge upon this Congress the propriety of immediate action. The people of Oregon, in the year 1843, established a system of organic laws to satisfy their temporary exigencies, and have since enacted certain temporary laws indispensable to their condition; but nevertheless, with renewed urgency, all that territory west of the Rocky Mountains and between the parallels of 42° and 54° 40' of north latitude to be clear mile for mile and acre for acre to purchase the peaceable pos-session of Oregon. Well may be, then, extend towards Ore-gon his paternal care, and he has done all that his constitu-

nation, doubt it.

I maintain, first, that this power must belong to Congress are afraid we shall give him a pesky hard tug. Some are afraid we aint hardly strong enough yet, and they've called another Convention to meet in Buffale the 9th of August, to put up another candidate. But others are faint-hearted about it, and say it's all no kind of use; we may put up twemty candidates, and Taylor will whip the whole lot: it's a way he has; he always did just so in Mexico. If they brought twenty to one agin him, it made no odds; he whipt the whole ring, from Pally Alto to Bona Vista. So you see what sort of a pickle we're in, and how much we need your help jest now. But there's one thing I have on my mind pretty strong. You know this appointment in the Downingville Post Office, that you got Gineral Jackson to give me, has always been a great comfort to me, and it would be a sad blow to me to lose it now in my old age. I wish you would make it in your way to call and see Gineral Taylor as you come along home, and try to find out how he feels towards me; because, if he is to be elected any how, I can't see any use there would be in my bitting my own nose off for the sake of opposing his election. And Ldont think

"The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States."

when you get to Washington, call and see Mr. Richie and try to comfort him; I'm told the dear old gentleman is workin too hard for his strength—out a nights in the rain, with a lantern in his hand, heading the campaign. Try to persuade him to be calm and take good care of himself. And be sure and ask him how the Federals are goin this election, for we cant find out any thing about it down here. I used to know how to keep the run of the Federals, but now there is so many parties, the Democrats, and Whigs, and Hunkers, and Barnburners, and Abolition folks, and Proviso folks, all cris-crossin oil another, that I have my match to keep the run of 'em. But your aunt Keziah says the clock has struck, and I must close the mail.

So I remain your loving uncle,

JOSHUA DOWNING, P. M.

BERRATA in the Speech of Mr. Rockwell, published in the Intelligencer of July 1.

Near the bottom of the first column, for \$1.295,450, read

property is the public lands in the Calles, where the learning belonging to the United States.

The truth of this definition of the word territory is fully established by the books of definitions and synonymes. I cite

"TERRITORY- [Fr. Territoire ; It. Sp. Territorio : L. Territorium, from terra, earth.]

"I. The extent or compass of land within the bounds, or belonging to the jurisdiction of any State, city, or other body. "Linger not in my territories.—Shakepeare.

"They erected a house within their own territory.

"They erected a house within their own territory.

"Arts and sciences took their rise, and flourished only in those small territories where the people were free.—Swift.

"A tract of land belonging to and under the dominion of a Prince or State, lying at a distance from the parent country or from the seat of Government: as the territories of the East India Company; the territories of the United States; the Territory of Michigan; Northwest Territory. These districts of country, when received into the Union and acknowledged to be States, loss the appellation of territory."

The matter can be made no plainer by argument. Indeed the languages of the constitution precludes argument. The

sition of our opponents eminently require such attack. If the suthority of precedent is allowed at ail, there is an end of this question. The ordinance of 1787 was made by the Congress of the Confederation, before the adoption of the present Government. The ordinance of 1787, in the year 1789, after the constitution was adopted, needed to be reinvigorated with the blood of the constitution, and it was done. The first Congress of the United States, in 1789, (August 7,) re-enacted the ordinance of 1787, and gave it its power and vitality under the constitution; and that act was passed by the first Congress, many of whose members were among those who framed the constitution. From that time to this there are numerous cases where the precedent has been repeated. Let me remark, it is not a precedent to establish a new power; the power does not rest on the strength of the precedent. The effect of these precedents is to establish the power as given in the constitution. It was to explain the constitution, to show to us the meaning of its founders; to show to us the meaning of its founders; to show to us the meaning of all those who have succeeded them in the Government; and it is to be remarked, also, that this question is, upon this very point in dispute, with respect to the Oregon Territory and the other Territories; this question of free all the territory. Territory and the other Territories; this question of free or slave territory; this question of the introduction or keeping slave territory; this question of the introduction or keeping out of the institution of slavery. To that was this power first applied before the adoption of the constitution, by the Congress of the Confederation; subsequently to the adoption of the constitution by the first Congress under the constitution; and it has since been recognised just as much in those laws which relate to the territory of Alabama, Mississippi, and the Southern territories, as well as the Northern territories; for, in relation to these the principles of the ordinance of 1787 were enacted, with the exception of the slavery clause in the sixth article of compact; and each of these acts in relation to sixth article of compact; and each of these acts in relation to these territories as clearly recognised the power of Congress as the act of 1789—as that which applied to Iowa or any other Northern territory, in whose organic laws the prohi

slavery was contained.

If we are right in our views upon the power of Congress the question is one of justice and expediency—the question of the exclusion of slavery from the Territories. And it is the right of every portion of the people of this country to be heard upon this subject; for this territory is their common property, in regard to which they are entitled to a common voice. words. These words were spoken in the first Congress under the constitution, on the 13th May, 1789, upon the impost bill, upon the motion to insert a clause in the bill imposing a duty on the importation of slaves of ten dollars each person.

Mr. Madison said:

"If I were not afraid of being told that the Representatives of the several States are the best able to judge of what is proper and conducive to their particular prosperity, I should venture to say that it is as much the interest of Georgia and South Carolina as of any in the Union. Every addition they receive to their number of slaves tends to weaken and render them less capable of self-defence. In case of hostilities with foreign nations, they will be the means of inviting attack instead of repelling invasion. It is a necessary duty of the General Government to protect every part of the empire against danger, as well internal as external. Every thing, therefore, which tends to increase this danger, though it may be a local affair, yet, if it involves national expense or safety, becomes of concern to every part of the Union, and is a proper subject for the consideration of those charged with the general administration of the Government. I hope, in making these observations, I

Those just and sound observations were made upon the question of imposing a duty upon slaves imported under the constitution previous to the year 1808—a duty based upon two reasons: first, to discourage and check their importation; and, secondly, to improve the revenue. This was a question of particular interest to the slave States alone. No others paid the duty. Yet Mr. Madison justified the common action, upon the ground of the common interest, which was to prevent the increase of slaves in any of the States. How much more, then, upon this question, is it proper for every part of this Union to take part in the discussion of a question. much more, then, upon this question, is it proper for every part of this Union to take part in the discussion of a question

I will say, then, that the institution of domestic slavery ought not to be introduced into our free territories. It is not fit to be there, but the power of Congress should be exerted to prevent its introduction. Sir, I shall speak of slavery only in the language of those who know it better than I do. I shall refer for its character to the language of one of the most

arguing against the general powers of the constitution:

"As much as I deplore slavery, I see that prudence forbids its abolition. I deny that the General Government ought to set them free, because a decided majority of the States have not the ties of sympathy and fellow feeling for those whose interest would be affected by their emancipation. The majority of Congress is to, the North and the slaves are to the South. In this situation I see a great deal of the property in Vitginia in jeopardy, and their peace and tranquillity gone away. I repeat it again, that it would rejoice my very soul that every one of my fellow-beings was emancipated. As we ought with gratitude to admire that decree of Heaven which has numbered us among the tree, we ought to lament and deplore the necessity of holding our fellow-men in bondage. But is it practicable by any human means to liberate them without producing the most dreadful and ruinous consequences? We ought to possess them in the manner we have inherited them from our ancestors, as their manumission is incompatible with the felicity of the country. But we ought to soften as much as possible the rigor of their unhappy fate."—2 Elliot's Debates 432.

He presents it, sir, as an institution "to be deplored," the

He presents it, sir, as an institution " to be deplored," the He presents it, sir, as an institution "to be deplored," the abolition of which prudence only forbids, because attended with greater evils and dangers than its continuance. The necessity of holding our fellow-men in bondage is lamented and deplored. That, sir, is the institution of slavery, which it is now proposed to spread over the great Pacific slope of North America up to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude.

I now present two of the arguments by which the continuance of slavery in the slave States is advocated and sustained, and turn them and make use of them as very stone.

tained, and turn them and make use of them as very strong arguments against the introduction of slavery into the new territories; and I shall submit to the members of this House who hear me whether it is not a fair and legitimate use t

1. It is said with great force that slavery in the slave States must not be interfered with because, among other reasons, the white and black races in numbers so nearly equal can never exist together in a state of freedom; because the emancipa-tion of the black race implies destruction to one race or the other. Sir, what do you propose to do? You propose to put that institution into these free territories and forever subject these free territories to that condition of things; to plant an institution there which must exist forever because it can never

safely be removed.

But do you believe that it can be done; with the pre But do you believe that it can be done; with the present state of the public opinion of the world and the progress of that opinion, do you believe that that institution can be preserved through the ages that are to come? Do you believe that in an age when, within the last ten years, all the slaves of the British West India colonies have been emancipated; when within the last few months the slaves of the French West India islands have been emancipated; when even now it was reported that those of the Spanish West India islands were about to be emancipated? Do you believe that in such an age this institution can continue, and that in the generations during which these territories shall belong to this country the time will not come when its entire abolition shall be accomplished? Every thing has been said which I could wish to say in relation to the horrors of the forcible abolition of slavery; the consequences of the contest of the races; the unmitigated misery, the unuterable we consequent upon this have been portrayed in more eloquent and burning terms than I can command by slaveholders upon this floor. And to the possibility of all this are we called upon to subject the people of these new territories in the future. Surely this dread and powerful argument, by which all interference towards emancipation is repelled, should have at least equal power to prevent the necessity of emancipation to the continuous of

slavery. It might be admitted, for the purpose of the point of the argument which I now touch, that wherever the

In the case of Fisher ra. Dabbs, in the Supreme Court of Tennessee, in 1834, Chief Justice Catron said—
"The slave who receives the protection and care of a tolerable master, holds a condition here superior to the negro who is freed from domestic slavery. He is a reproach and a byword with the slave himself, who taunts his fellow slave by telling him 'he is as worthless as a free negro." The consequence is inevitable. The free black man lives amongst us without motive and without hope. He seeks no avocation, is surrounded with necessities, is sunk in degradation; crime can sink him no deeper, and he commits it of course. This is not only true of the free negro residing in the slaveholding States of this Union; in the non-slaveholding States the people are less accustomed to the squalid and disgusting wretchedness of the negro, have less sympathy for him, carn their means of subsistence with their own hands, and are more economical in parting with them, than him for whom the slave labors, of which he is entitled to share the proceeds, and of which the free negro is generally the participant, and but too often in the character of the receiver of stolen goods. Nothing can be more untrue than that the free negro is more respectable as a member of society in the non-slaveholding States than in the slaveholding States. In each, he is a degraded outcast, and his fancied freedom a delusion. With us, the slave ranks him in character and comfort; nor is there a fair motive to absolve him from the duties incident to domestic slavery, if he is to continue amongst us. Generally, and almost universally, society suffers, and the negro suffers by manumission."

That is a judicial decision, recorded in the slaveholding States upon the condition of free negroes therein. It is to be

That is a judicial decision, recorded in the slaveholding States upon the condition of free negroes therein. It is to be received in its full effect, so far as relates to the slaveholding states themselves. As to its correctness in relation to some of the free States I will speak presently. Now how came these free negroes into the States, and how will they ever come into Oregon and California? They must be carried there; they must go out there with the institution of slavery or they never would exist there. If I grant you, then, that slavery itself, unconnected with its free negro consequence, is a boon and blessing to these new and free territories, still you must prove to me before you establish it there that it is is a boon and blessing to these new and free territories, still you must prove to me before you establish it there that it is a greater blessing than this curse of the existence of free negroes. Whence did the free negroes in the North, or in any section of this Union come? They came from the institution of slavery. All men know that the inhabitants of Africa would not have emigrated to this country if they had not been forced to come by the slave trade; that the African race would never go into the territories if not forced there by the institution of slavery. To suppose that the free negroes would assist in peopling the Territory of Oregon is to suppose that they are endued with the intelligence, enterprise, and energy of the Anglo-Saxon race. The colored race will

and energy of the Anglo-Saxon race. The colored race will never be there in any great numbers unless the institution of slavery carries them there.

In relation to the condition of the free negroes, several of the States of this Union have absolutely refused them adhittance within their borders. The law of the State which you, sir, represent, (Ohio,) as well as the constitution of the State of Illinois, prohibit the introduction of free blacks into those States. Why, what kind of a population is this against which our new States are fencing themselves, and what kind of a population is it which you are about to inflict upon the Territories? Such a population as our young and upon the Territories? Such a population as our young and free Western States are building Chinese walls to keep out. upon the Terri It cannot be denied that, when the institution is established and has for a long time continued in the free Territories, a portion of the blacks will be slaves, and another large portion free, as in all the slaveholding States. The question, then, is, shall the two races unnecessarily be planted together, be compelled to remain together for all time, or the one to extercompelled to remain together for all time, or the one to exterminate the other? In the name of all this territory I protest against it. If the free colored population in the slave States is of such a character as slaveholders describe it, it must be greatly injurious to any country. In some of the free States, if we are to judge of the treatment they receive, free colored people are in a condition hardly less degraded. In the State of New York, recently, by a very strong vote of the people, they have been denied the right of suffrage, and also in Connecticut. In scarcely any of the States are they admitted to vote. I am happy to say the State which I represent in part is an exception. There they constantly exercise the right of is an exception There they constantly exercise the right of suffrage, and every other right of freemen. The consequence is apparent upon their character, which is improving, and upon their condition, which is far more respectable than in those States where these rights are denied them. I maintain, sir, not only that the laws and policy of Massachusetts are kinder and more favorable to the free colored men, but kinder to the slave States themselves, than those of the free

treatment of the African race looks to blessed results every

in the language of those who know it better than I do. I shall refer for its character to the language of one of the most cominent of the many eminent sons of Virginia—a man the words of whom dead seem to me to remain clothed with a living power rarely found in the words which fall from the fervent lips of the most eloquent living orators, such was the union of intellect and heart which gave utterance to them.

In the debates in the Virginia Conventiou, in 1788, on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, Patrick Henry said, in arguing against the general powers of the constitution:

"As much as I deplore slavery, I see that prudence forbids its abolition. I deay that the General Government ought to set them free, because a decided majority of the States have not the ties of sympathy and fellow feeling for those whose into the ties of sympathy and fellow feeling for those whose into the term of the most constitution of the most constitution to the Territory of Oregon, this question perhaps may be considered to stand on different grounds. But none of these free Territories, I wish it distinctly understood, shall ever, so far as my vote is concerned, be organized without this restriction. I might say something more, and perhaps I ought to say something more in consideration of what has into the beaution of these free Territories, I wish it distinctly understood, shall ever, so far as my vote is concerned, be organized without this restriction. I might say something more, and perhaps I ought to say something more in consideration of what has been said in this House of the history of this institution, for it was claimed by the honorable gentleman from North Carolina, (Mr. Clingman,) towards the commencement of this restriction. I might say something more, and perhaps I ought to say something more in consideration of what has been said in this House of the history of this institution, for it was claimed by the honorable gentleman from North Carolina, (Mr. Clingman,) towards the commencement of this restriction. I States of antiquity knew not the Saviour of the world, nor his gospel. So the majority of the Governments of the world have been despotisms. The ancient republics held the institution of domestic slavery. It, was one of the immediate wounds that destroyed them. The most interesting pages of their history are those of their decline and fall. What are the slaveholding States of Greece? How little of the history of the world is theirs. Little cases in the vast Californian deserts of history; stars whose little light scarcely travels down serts of history; stars whose little light scarcely travels down to us through the night of the dark ages. Are these to be the models of the American republic? Are we to imitate their Pagan vices—we who hope for a perpetual Christian republic? There is a necessity for the application of the 6th article of the compact of 1787 to these territories. It is true that I hold, in accordance with doctrines already expressed on this floor, that the institution of slavery does not exist in any of the territories of this Government—that it does not exist any where except by the force of local and municipal laws that confer no rights beyond the boundaries of that local or State Government which beyond the boundaries of that local or State Government which enacts them; that were it not for a clause in the constitution respecting fugitive slaves, every slave when he passes the boundaries of the slave States would be forever free; that when he passes the boundaries of those States into any of the free States or into any free country of the world, with his master, or by consent of his master, and so not a fugitive, he is made free. This is the law of England; it is the civil law; it is the law of this country and of the several States. I will only cite at this those several decisions of the State of Louisi-

The justidicion of Caugress over vines committed in the Territaries, scens to be recognised in the second section of in a state of disvery; and that, its that condition, the calored the third succle of the constitution, which directs that the trial of crimes, when not committed within any State, shall be at the money, and for the purposes of this segment, whist, as constitution, which directs that the trial of crimes, when not committed within any State, shall be a such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed. The sundainty of Congress to exercise exceeds a leading of the control of the Liberty party. Can be such place or places at the Congress may be law have directed. The sundainty of Congress to exercise exceeds to be in Ohio by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. rather article, has been included to the interference of the sales of the second of States, given by the State shall be second of States, given by the State shall be second of States, given by the State shall be second of States, given by the State shall be second of States, given by the State shall be second of States, given by the State shall be second of States, given by the State shall be second of States, given by the State shall be second of States, given by the State shall be second of States, given by the State shall be second of States, given by the State shall be second of States, given by the State shall be second of States, given by the State shall be second of States and the State shall be second of States and the States shall be second of States and the States shall be second of States and the States shall be shall be

Now and evermore I am for the union of these States. The people of Massachusetts are for it. It has been charged on this floor that a committee of our Legislature allowed an argument to be made before them in favor of the dissolution of the Union. If the gentleman who made that charge knew, as I know, the people of Massachusetts, he would know that this was the safest question that could possibly be agitated there. We never should object to the reception of any petition, to the discussion of this or any other question. The people of Massachusetts know full well that all discussion but makes the truth clearer to them; that there is no evil in this country for which dismine is a remedy. They know that people of Massachusetts know full well that all discussion but makes the truth clearer to them; that there is no evil in this country for which disunion is a remedy. They know that disunion is dissolution; that the country would be separated into no two or three parts, but into thirty miscrable fragments of anarchy—as many fragments as there are now flourishing and powerful States. They know that the remedy of disunion would be worse than any disease; that it could have no effect as a remedy for the evils of slavery; and, further, that it is utterly unattainable. No, sir; we must look to the Union as to continue, and to the United States as to increase; slowly, I trust, but surely, for ages to come.

I have argued this question, not merely in the light of the I have argued this question, not merely in the light of the sacrifice the business and currency of the country to his hard-

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I have argued this question, not merely in the light of the present state of things, but in the view—which I consider to be the true practical view of this subject—of what is likely to happen in the future history of the Government.

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I have argued this question, not merely in the light of the present state of things, but in the view—which I consider to be the true practical view of this subject—of what is likely to happen in the future history of the Government.

I think there is reason to believe that the future may extend this Government over the whole of the North American continent. I believe that this great system of waters, upon the shores of which you reside, sir, in Ohio, may yet find its outlet within the limits of this Government. This may never be. I do not suppose it will soon be. But the likelihood of its ultimate consummation is such, that no statesman can shut his eyes to the consequences. As I wish to use this idea for the same

to the consequences. As I wish to use this idea for the same purpose for which I formerly used it, I may be permitted to say that in December, 1845, when I contended upon this floor against the admission of Texas as a slave State, I stated my belief, and the reasons of it, as to the probable expansion of this Government, in the following language:

"But an enlightened and judicious forecast, as it seems to me, will invest this transaction with still greater importance and interest. From observation of the progress of events—of the condition and character of other American Governments—of the true interests of European Governments in relation to jurisdiction upon this continent—opinions are now entertained, in quarters entitled to the highest respect in this country, and abroad also, by those whose position enables them perhaps to take still more impartial and philosophic views, that, sooner or later, for evil or for good, the Constitutional Government of the United States will most probably be extended over the entire area of North America. And, in the face of such authority, we are not only authorized but obliged to regard this question as affecting all that part of this continent which lies south and west of Texas. The mere possibility of such events is sufficient to awaken this added interest—to invest the question with this increased importance.

"I repeat it, s.t. will not place any part of the phicetions."

south and west of Texas. The mere possibility of such events is sufficient to awaken this added interest—to invest the question with this increased importance.

"I repeat it, sir, I will not place any part of the objections which I make to this measure upon the ground of any unwillingness to extend the federative principle of our constitution, even from one ocean to the other, by the admission of new States, whenever their population has sufficiently progressed upon territory rightfully our own. I follow the futhers of the constitution in this particular, recognising the distinction taken by Mr. Madison as early as 1778, between a democracy and a republic, as to their relative capability of extension. These are his words:

"As the natural limits of a democracy is that distance from the central point which will just permit the most remote citizens to assemble as often as their public functions demand, and will include no greater number than can join in these functions, so the natural limit of a republic is that distance from the centre which will merely allow the representatives of the people to meet as often as may be necessary for the administration of public affairs.

"I am prepared to believe, sir, that by the improvements of the present ago, in the means of communication, locomotion, and the transmission of intelligence, that this 'natural limit of a republic' may extend ultimately to the utmost limits of North America. I am prepared to put my faith in this extension of our federative principle, and this expansion of our Federal Government, whenever and wherever it can be done in strict accordance with the principles of the constitution, with the true ideas of perfect universal freedom, contained in the declaration of our independence, and in conformity with the settled law of nations. But these, sir, are indispensable conditions to my faith. The ambition of national aggrandizement, the unbridied lust of dominion, was never in the hearts of the interesting and for their gratification." ers of the republic, and they have made no provis

I did not anticipate then that so soon we were to have so large a portion of the territory of Mexico, and I do not anticipate now that there is to be any speedy and immediate progress in that or any other direction further. But it is the policy of this great nation to look at this matter not merely in hey of this great nation to look at this matter not merely in reference to our present territorial limits, but to what our limits and extension and power may hereafter be. This is a question of ages and centuries, and when the argument is addressed to me that it is wrong and unjust that the citizens of the slave States cannot go to those free territories and take his slave with him. I must say, in addition to what I consider other sufficient answers, that, though I may be greatly misother sufficient answers, that, though I may be greatly mis-taken, it seems to me quite too much, that all the territories of this nation, present and to come, are to be clothed with the institution of slavery, for the purpose of preserving this sup-posed right on the part of the slaveholders in a portion of the States of this Union.

Mr. Chairman, I have a few words to say in relation to

Mr. Chairman, I have a lew words to say in relation to the approaching Presidential election. It is known to my friends that, in common with several of my colleagues, after careful and anxious deliberation, I deem it my duty, as an humble member of the Whig party, to acquiesce in the nom-ination of General Zachary Taylor for the Presidency; and, unless his position shall in some important point be changed, to give the ticket which bears his name with that of Mr. single the ticket which bears his name with that of Mr.
Fillmore, of New York, my support. To the same conclusion, I have reason to know, have many of my Whig constituents arrived; and, upon full examination and reflection, I believe some who are yet reluctant will take the same posi-

By our own voluntary act we were represented in the By our own voluntary act we were represented in the Philadelphia convention. Upon an attentive and scrutinizing perusal of all which took place in that convention, I cannot, in my conscience, say that the nomination of General Taylor in that convention was produced by means that can be made grave and reasonable subject of complaint by the Whigs of the Northern States. Upon this point, I cannot but recognise the truth and propriety of the communication which my honorable colleague, (Mr. Asanus,) a member of that convention, has addressed to his constituents. By the result of inquiries, diligently prosecuted on my part for some time, I am satisfied that General Taylor is a Whig, and will sustain the Whig principles in a firm and consistent manner. the memory for the saves and the forcer fee; the when he passes the boundaries of those States into any of the country of the world, with his fee States or into any free country of the world, with his fee States or into any free country of the world, with his fee States or into any free country of the world, with his fine several decisions of the State of Louisan. The many fee feet is the law of England; it is the laws of England; it is the laws of the country of the world, with the consent of the state of the state of Louisan.—The England decisions and many others having been offen; of the world with the consent of the world with the consent of the world with the consent of the world with the state of the world with the consent of the world with the state of the world with the world discharge them to the world with the state of the world with the world discharge them to the world with the world world with the world with t time, I am satisfied that General Taylor is a Whig, and will sustain the Whig principles in a firm and consistent manner. From his own deliberate and solemo published declaration, I believe that he will sustain that cardinal and darling Whig principle, the restraint of the veto power within the limits of its constitutional exercise. The "one-man power" will be broken up. The constitutional powers of Congress will be restored. Congress will be restored. Congress will be restored to the dignity, power, and self-respect, and the respect of the people, which it enjoyed in the earlier and better days of the republic. If the President of the United States will refrain from bringing the patronage of his office to bear upon questions at issue in the

whose aid and alliance is sought for him?

The only other alternative for the Whigs of the free States is to bring forward a Whig from those States. Of course such a movement, if made at all, must be earnestly and unitedly made to be of any avail. Whenever a selection of that is kind is made it must fall upon some well-known and eminent Whig. But can any body suppose it possible that the Whig party in the free States can now be united upon any Whig candidate against Gen. Taylor? Or does any body suppose that the anti-slavery feeling of the North can be united in the candidate against Gen. Taylor? Or does any body suppose that the anti-slavery feeling of the North can be united in the support of any eminent Whig? And should either of these improbable things be accomplished—should the whole anti-slavery strength of the North be united upon Mr. Van Buren, or upon any eminent Whig candidate, what more could be effected than to bring that candidate to the House of Representatives, and subject the constitution to the shock and the country to the evils of an election of President, not by the people, but by the members of the House of Representatives.

people, but by the members of the House of Representatives voting by States, a proceeding in which the two Representatives from Texas would have equal power with the thirty-six members from New York?

If the result of that legislative proceeding should be the election of Gen. Cass, I should not wish to have contributed to it. If the result should be the election of Gen. Taylor, then I have to say, that it would, in my judgment, be better,

then I have to say, that it would, in my judgment, be better, far better, for the whole country, as well as the free States, that he should be elected by the people, as he assuredly will be, if the Whigs of the free States unite in his support. Elected by a full, free, and hearty Northern support, he wilk be the President of the whole country, in feeling as well as in fact. Influences merely sectional will not reach him, and a salutary, conservative, free influence will be felt in his Cabinet. Sir, I will add, that it is not with feelings of unmingled pleasure that I have come to this conclusion. But it seems to me to be a conclusion fit to be firmly maintained. In Massachusetts, we had a hope, now disappointed, that a citizen of our own State might have received the nomination. Sir, the Northern free blood, it it had seen fit to assert its rights, could not have found a fitter representative of its own qualicould not have found a fitter representative of its own quali-ties. In the district which I represent, old affections and young affections cling also around the standard of the Sage of Ashland. We had others also whom we would have pre-ferred to Gen. Taylor; but Gen. Taylor succeeded over all ferred to Gen. Taylor; but Gen. Taylor succeeded over all these. And, sir, I see no sufficient reason against adopting the blunt, good-natured, practical philosophy of our venerable friend from Ohio, (Mr. Vancz.) when he said "he was too old a soldier not to give up when he was fairly whipped."

And I must confess, sir, as we have left the ranks of politicians and practised stateamen for our candidate, it will not be without some interest and high hope that I shall observe what effect the free air, the independent spirit of the forest

what effect the free air, the independent spirit of the forest and the prairie will produce upon the halls of the White House and of this Capitol, and upon all the departments of the

present views and feelings upon the subject of the next Presidency at this time. The sheets which convey these remarks to my constituents will convey to them the announcem my most respectful but inflexible determination candidate for re-election to the next Congress.

IN SENATE

SATURDAY, JULY 1, 1848.

Mr. BENTON, from the Committee on Military Affairs, reported the act from the House of Representatives repealing the proviso to the act which required the President to reduce the Generals to one Major General and two Brigadiers at the end of the war.

Mr. B. explained the nature of the act from the House, and of the amendments proposed to it; and as it was necessary for Congress to act upon the subject before the proclamation of peace—an event now to be daily looked for—be would ask for the immediate consideration of the act and amendments.

The immediate consideration was ordered. Mr. BENTON said, at the commencement of the war the number of Generals in the regular army was increased from three to six-from one Major General and two Brigadiers to two Major Generals and four Brigadiers—and directed the President, at the termination of the war, to reduce the number to that from which it was raised. The act from the House to that from which it was raised. The act from the House repealed the clause which imposed this duty of reduction upon the President. The Military Committee of the Senate proposed to suspend instead of repeal that clause, and make the suspension continue until the fourth day of March next, in order to give time for organizing a suitable and permanent peace establishment, providing at the same time that no vacancy which may occur among the Generals shall be filled up.

The committee also recommend, as a further smeadment to

which may occur among the trenerals shall be filled up.

The committee also recommend, as a further amendment to
the act from the House, a second section, to provide in the
same manner for the temporary retention of other officers by
suspending until the same day (fourth of March next) the